1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
Hill Maria
Bison Horn Maria

settled. The Hill Maria and part of the Bison-horn Maria country are such regions; and often in our stay in Bastar my wife and I were able to recapture something of the surprise and variety of experience that our pioneer ancestors knew so much more than their descendants of these humdrum and standardized days. This alone would justify some record of what we saw.

For encouragement to attempt such a record I must first thank His Excellency Sir Montagu Butler, K.C.S.I., C.B., C.I.E., C.V.O., C.B.E., now Lieutenant-Governor of the Isle of Man, for nine years Governor of the Central Provinces and in political charge of the Central Provinces States, to whom I owed my appointment as Administrator of Bastar, and who was the wisest and most helpful of chiefs and the best and most stimulating of friends. Mr. R. A. Wilson, who was then Chief Secretary to the Government of the Central Provinces, wrote to me suggesting a study of the Marias even before I went to Bastar. I am very grateful also for the advice and encouragement of three friends: Dr. J. H. Hutton, C.I.E., I.C.S., the last Census Commissioner for India, who has put me further in his debt by reading through my manuscript and contributing so interesting an Introduction; Baron Egon von Eickstedt, Professor of Ethnology at Breslau University, who visited Bastar while I was there and has kindly allowed me to reproduce some of his excellent photographs; and the Right Reverend Alex Wood, D.D., O.B.E., Lord Bishop of Nagpur, the doyen of Gondi scholars and sanest of critics. My interest in the Gond, first aroused by contact with him in the Nagpur, Seoni and Hoshangabad districts, was stimulated by early talks with Mr. C. G. Chenevix Trench, C.I.E., then serving in the Central Provinces Commission, the author of a fascinating Gondi grammar and of certain contributions to Blackwood which vividly portray the Indian aboriginal, and by that mine of ethnological material, Russell and Hiralal's *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*. I have in the succeeding pages often disagreed with their statements on Marias in their article 'Gond'; but theirs was a pioneer work, being largely a compilation of statements gleaned from a mass of papers contributed by officials, pleaders and others, supplemented by the personal enquiries of the authors and their wide knowledge of almost all that had been previously written on their subjects. Mistakes and mis-statements were thus inevitable; but their great book is remarkable for its general reliability, its sustained interest and its power of stimulating further investigation.

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I must state how I made my enquiries. Throughout my time in Bastar I kept notes and took photographs of what I heard or saw. Between 1927 and 1931 I made four long tours among the Hill

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
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Marias, and paid several shorter visits to the fringes of their hills; since 1931 I have three times revisited Bastar, seeing some Marias each time, and spending March 1934 in revisiting the Abujhmar hills villages seen in my 1929-31 tours, and the Bison-horn Maria villages above and below the Aranpur pass. I had similarly often toured before across the Bison-horn Maria country, and made many friends among the villages around the Bailadila hills, which, in return for a reduced assessment of land revenue, had the duty of sending relays of men up to the hills during the summer recess there of the Ruling Chief and leading State officials.

Notes and Queries on Anthropology, published by the Royal Anthropological Institute, was of constant value, even though, as explained in Chapter XIII, the poor memories of the Marias prevented me from getting the results expected from the geneological method. My work made it impossible for me to be in Maria villages at all seasons and to see all Maria ceremonies, and therefore I supplemented my enquiries by getting detailed reports from selected State officials whom I tried to train roughly for this by taking them with me during my personal enquiries on tour. I have almost always checked their reports by personal investigation; and in the few cases where I could not so check them, I have repeated nothing reported by them unless it was confirmed by the independent reports of two or more other reliable observers. These enquiries did impose much extra work on them, but gave them a much-needed knowledge of the aboriginal and did much to raise the morale and co-operation of the enquirers and to raise the standard of the administration. I could not have had a happier and friendlier family of colleagues than those of all ranks who served under me my last two years in the State. All were helpful, but especially Pandit Ghasiram Dane, then a subdivisional officer, the late Mr. H. N. Dutt, then tahsildar of Dantewara, since a victim of black-water fever, Mr. Niranjan Singh, then tahsildar of Bijapur and manager of Kutru, now Assistant Administrator, Mr. Sant Prasad, formerly tahsildar of Konta, Circle Inspector Manbahal Singh of the State Police, and Mr. Dikshitulu of the State Medical Service, who did remarkable anti-yaws work in the Abujhmar hills in my second tour and in later independent tours.

Language was always a difficulty. Halbi is the *lingua franca* of Bastar. The differences between Maria dialects are great, and the very guttural hill dialect is so unintelligible to the Bison-horn Marias that at their rare meetings they communicate with Hill Marias through those of them who understand Halbi. And there are many variations of both the Hill and the Bison-horn Maria dialects. Of Halbi, everyone serving in Bastar must acquire some

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197 It may be observed that in these specimens and in the *Linguistic Survey* records there is far less borrowing from Aryan languages than in the Gondi folk-tales, stories and songs printed in Volume II 192 of Trench's *Grammar*. In my specimens there are two corruptions of English words which have become current through excise and police practice respectively, ***bōtēl*** (bottle) and ***rapōṭ*** (report). Fairly recent Hindi or Halbi borrowings (as distinct from long acclimatized words of Sanskrit origin like ***mīn*** (fish), ***wijjā*** (seed) or ***bēsh*** (good)) found in my specimens are ***ḍōkrā*** (old man), ***ḍōkrī*** (old woman), ***dinām*** and ***dināl*** (daily), ***kabār*** (work), ***khush*** (pleased), ***tiyār*** (ready), ***bichār*** (thought), ***milē-māsī*** (together), ***sarkār*** (authorities), ***lagē*** (fastened), and ***rāzī*** (contented).

126 I have not collected any specimens of Bison-horn Maria language, nor have I the qualifications to attempt any sketch of the grammars of the two dialects. The Hill Maria specimens that follow were recorded under my supervision by Sampat Singh, my interpreter, in the villages of Orcha and Hikul in the Abujhmar hills in March 1934, the records being corrected with the aid of the Hill Marias in my camp.

Two Stories, from Hikul Village

539 *I. The Monkey Son-in-law*

Unḍ nāgā mattā. Ḍōkrī- mu'ittā mattā, ōrā unḍ miyāṛ
One village was. Old-woman-old-woman was, hers a daughter

mattā. Ad pīkī 'layā mattā. Ḍōkrī- mu'ittā ad pīkī-tun
was. That girl maiden was. Old-woman-old-woman that girl

bōn-kē hēwā mattā. Unḍ mēṭā-tā unḍ kōwē ḍōkrī-mu'ittā-
anyone-to giving-not was. A mountain-from a monkey old-woman-

nagā pīkī-may^dē lām wātā. Ḍōkrī-mu'ittā
old-woman-to girl-for bride-servitor came. Old-woman-old-woman

kēttā, 'Nimā bārī-klyā wāttōq, kōwā?' Kōwā ittoq, 'Illē,
said, 'You what-for have-come, monkey?' Monkey said, 'No,

māmō, bēnōkē lām tās^tāq, nannā paṛī tūṇgānā-may^dē
father's-sister, anyone bride-servitor will-keep, I work doing-for

mandākān.' Ḍōkrī-mu'ittā bichār kittā, 'Māwā-igā paṛī kiyānōr bōgh
will-stay.' Old-woman thought-made, 'Me-with work doer anyone

illē; pīkīn-may^dē kōwī baranjā-tun tās^kān.' Injōr vēāttā,
not; girl-for monkey son-in-law-for I-will-keep.' Then she-said,

'Mākā paṛī kis, tibtānūr.' Kōwī-ku tāstōq. Kōwā vēāttōq,
'Me-for work do, I-will-feed.' Monkey she-kept. Monkey said,

'Mimā, nā-kū unḍ maqsu par-ām; pēndī naṛkān.'
'Father-in-law, me-to an axe made-give; penda-clearing I-will-cut.'